1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other
836 women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
584 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

• 837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races[1]." At the present time conjugal infidelity is very common and is lightly regarded. It is almost certain that the establishment of the Penal Settlement amongst them has affected their morals in this particular, but there does not seem to be any very satisfactory evidence that their former morality was quite so strict as Mr Man would have us believe. One piece of evidence in this matter is that the spread of syphilis, when it was first introduced amongst them seems to have been very rapid, and yet this was before many of the tribes had been very seriously affected by the Settlement.

Besides the special sexual relation between a husband and wife there is a special economic relation, if we may speak of it as such. The two share one hut between them, or one portion of a communal hut. It is the duty of the wife to provide the fire-wood and the water for cooking and drinking, and to cook the meals at the family fire. It is the duty of the husband to provide flesh food for himself and for his wife, while it is her duty to provide and prepare vegetable food.

A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth of a child. Mr Man states that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as the chief mourner. A father who has been away from home greets his wife first on his return and then greets his other relatives; but if no child has been born to him a husband first greets his blood-relatives (father, mother, brothers, etc.) and only after that does he visit his wife.

The only regulation of marriage is on the basis of relationship. Marriage is forbidden between near *consanguinei*. The exact rules, in this matter, if indeed there be any exact rules, are difficult to discover. It is quite clear that a man would not be permitted to marry his sister or half-sister, nor his father's or mother's sister, nor his brother's or sister's daughter. The question is more difficult when it comes to the matter of cousins. In 1908 I only found one pair of first cousins who were married to one another, this being in the *Aka-Bo* tribe. The husband

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 135. He speaks of the wives as "models of constancy."

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

762 pound word (*ō-yuu-lē-mar-tō-liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū-bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adulatery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pūluga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would pro-
837 bably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by
674 one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it
273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence
177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē-lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely
276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of
177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity. 881

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends. 581 586 837

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection- 836 835

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

000 establish friendly relations by means of the woman's cries we put off to the *Bess*, hove up anchor and stood out of the harbour.

I greatly regret that the necessity for shooting this man should have arisen and that it should have devolved upon me to do it; but from our Andamanese we learnt that the damaged man undoubtedly belonged to the same raiding party that, between two and three weeks before, murdered one of our convict petty officers while out in the forest looking after the garjan-oil collectors. They also told us they had frequently encountered him before, recognised him by his large moustache and that he was an absolutely implacably hostile villain. As our boat was, at the time of the attack, lying in shallow water, bows to the shore, and the crew had to stand on the thwarts to fend her off the coral knobs and were thereby terribly exposed, a speedy retreat, as well as being very impolitic, was impracticable. Two alternatives then remained, to allow the savages to fire into our crowded boat with the certainty of hitting some one, or forestalling them by shooting one of their number. Our Andamanese were certainly physically not the equals of the Jarawas, so that we could hardly rely on their shooting as well as their opponents and repelling the attack with their bows and arrows, hampered as they were for want of room and the necessity of looking after the boat. Moreover, we had ordered them not to display or even touch their weapons to provoke an attack and they had behaved with exemplary self-control in strictly obeying their orders, relying implicitly on the protection of the weapons in our hands. Had the three men fired simultaneously, as was their evident intent, into our midst, the arrows, coming from such different directions, must have hit some of us and a disaster would almost certainly have ensued. I need hardly say that the Andamanese in our boat desired the total extermination of their life-long enemies, the Jarawas, while those in the *Belle* were most indignant and aggrieved at not being permitted to land to share in the fight.

After leaving Port Campbell we steered south and at 4-30 dropped our anchor off the Mount Augusta Home in Port Mouat where we spent the night. One of the women in the home was overjoyed at hearing that a Jarawa had been injured, as they had ousted her tribe from their possessions in Port Campbell. The knowledge now imparted to the Jarawas that rifles can injure as well as make a noise, may save the lives of any mariners who chance to be shipwrecked on these coasts.

17th February 1901.—Left Port Mouat at dawn, 5-30, towing a large Andamanese canoe, a present for the Onges. To the south of Rutland Island the wind freshed considerably, the canoe upset and we were a good deal delayed by collecting the scattered oars, seats and steersmen and finally hoisting the canoe up to our rail. After anchoring the *Belle* between the Cinque Islands, taking Mr. Bonig and the Onges aboard, we left at 10 A.M. for Little Andaman, picking eight Onge women and two boys off South Cinque Island where they had been awaiting the return of their husbands from Port Blair. We reached Bumila Creek at 3 P.M., landed the Onges, planted some cocoanuts, explained and exhibited the effects of rifle fire to the people, saw their dances, gave them presents and left them happy and contented at 5 P.M. Bumila Creek we found well deserved its name, as crowds of flies settled on our boat and accompanied us back to the *Bess*. Several of the Onge women had large scars on their backs, many 6—8 inches in length, some women having four to eight such scars. These are said to be caused by cuts inflicted by their irate husbands to mark their displeasure at conjugal infidelity, which, to judge by the large proportion of scarred women, is not uncommon. After a very rough passage rendered difficult by the darkness of the night and the absence of a good compass, we anchored off Cinque Island at 8-30.

304
837

000 *18th February 1901.*—Landed on south Cinque Island to collect specimens of the bare rocks which form such a marked feature of parts of Rutland and the Cinque Islands, returned to the *Bess* at 8-30, hove up anchor, left for Port Blair, and reached there 11-30 A.M.

Diary of Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, Third Assistant Superintendent, Port Blair, on the second tour round the Andaman Islands on Census duty from the 15th to the 18th February 1901.

15th February 1901.—Left Port Blair with Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., and Captain A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., in the steam launch *Bess* at 6 A.M., following close behind the steam launch *Belle* which was navigated by Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, going north *viâ* Kyd Island. As the weather was bad for two or three days previously until last night, it was decided to reverse the original programme drawn up by the Chief Commissioner, so as to give time for the sea to calm down before attempting the passage to the Little Andaman. We stopped for half an hour at Kyd Island to question the people at the Andamanese Home there, where we went before in the first tour, and to leave some cocoanuts to be planted; then proceeded through Middle Strait to Kwangtung Harbour. No people were found on the way. At the village in the mouth of the Harbour, there were 51 people, counting women and children, collected according to directions given by Mr. Man, in the first tour, from the surrounding country. Details are given in the Census forms, to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner, at the end of the operations. Remained in this Harbour for the night.

16th February 1901.—Left Kwangtung Harbour at 6 A.M., the *Bess* following the *Belle*, and ran down the west coast of South Andaman to Port Campbell. In entering the port we blew the steam whistle several times before seeing any people on shore. At length when we had turned to run out of the port, about a dozen Andamanese including some women were seen walking fast along the shore from the mouth of the Harbour towards the interior. Our

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

Endogamous life, or the habit of never washing even the female genital organs, cannot be the only cause of Andamanese sterility. Alcohol and venereal diseases such as syphilis may only be a complementary cause. The Onge's limited fertility probably derives from other factors besides their protracted and inceasingly strict endogamy.

We can only remark that Onge women rarely become pregnant before 28 ; their fertility ceases around the age of 48. The high rate of sterility among Onge women after marriage (which generally takes place at the age of 14) is puzzling indeed. Of several childless couples that I studied in Little Andaman, the woman was under 28. There is hope of fertility after that age. It could so happen, for instance, in the case of two young Onge chiefs, Okkeggi and Chendubai, married to two sisters among the most beautiful and flourishing girls on the island : Ooaghēghē and Tocooaghēghē, both around 20. They never became pregnant, although menstruation was normal and they had plenty of sexual intercourse, even extra-marital.

The delayed appearance of fertility in Andamanese women is probably connected with a general biological condition fostered by unhygienic habits. For instance : young Onge females have a high vagina acidity content that is certainly harmful to spermatozoa. It decreases with age, facilitating, we may suppose, fecundation. Vaginal washing would help, but the Onge women never recur to it. But this is only one side of the question. It is evidently urgent to do whatever is necessary to save the Onge from extinction. We must remember that civilized nations, through international agreements, are anxious to protect plant and animal species from disappearance. The same should be done for man, and equivalent international laws are needed. The Onge as a human group are on the verge of extinction ; but they still retain enough vitality to be rescued before they finally vanish into eternity.

Without enlarging here on the disorders of Onge sexual life and their dire effects also on the number of births, I wish to point out one more fact : Onge homosexuality as a normal occurrence. It is a plague in Little Andaman, helped by the regular physiological functions of both extremities of the digestive tube. The sexual tendencies that prevail in Little Andaman are a strong criticism of FREUD's theories on sexual life, but I will not discuss this here. I would rather say a few words about some opinions regarding the cause of Onge sterility that I heard expressed in the Andamans. Foreigners there ascribe it to the *naquinēghē* – the grass-like apron worn by women. Colonists believe that this garment leads to copulation from the rear, reducing the chances of fecundation. This idea is incorrect : the Onge never do this because the *naquinēghē* can be easily lifted as required, and pulled up over the abdomen. It is true that Onge women remove the *naquinēghē* only to replace it with a fresh one ; they wear it even when sleeping. Not for a single instant must women remain "undressed", for superstitious reasons. When a new *naquinēghē* is needed, the old one is furtively disposed of. Husband and wife repair secretely to a remote part of the forest, the woman slipping the new garment over her head before removing the old one, and burying the latter, which is quickly destroyed by white ants. The Onge believe that possession by a stranger of a worn

groups of families. There is some spontaneous recognition of individuals as 'headmen' as a result of some generally accepted superiority of physique or discernment, but the concept goes no further than the giving of some weight to their views within the group.

13 MARRIAGE

The Onges are monogamous, like all peoples who have never progressed beyond the stage of hunting and gathering, and adultery is virtually unknown. Marriage consists merely of the man taking possession of the woman in the presence of the rest of the group, taking her by the hand to a new bed built for the occasion and allotted a place within the circle. The 'marriage' takes place in the late evening and is followed by frenzied dancing all night long by the light of the resin torches. The total absence of any form of ritual leads one to suppose isolation from a very early date indeed, but this cannot be more than conjecture.

14 BURIAL

The custom of burying the dead in caves still occupied by the living apparently existed in the Palaeolithic era. The practice has continued to the present time in the Andamans, where the dead are still buried under the family bed in the communal hut. It is known from Palaeolithic burials that even in that era objects were sometimes buried with the dead, and it is thus possible that the culture of the Andamans dates back to very early times.

15 EXHUMATION AND SECOND BURIAL

The custom of exhuming the bones of the dead and re-interring them after coloration (in this case with ochre) dates from the Palaeolithic era.

16 BONE NECKLACES

The custom of wearing necklaces of carpals, tarsals, phalanges and fragments of rib, is of extreme antiquity, and apart from the Andamans, has virtually disappeared.

17 RELIGION

There is evidence that even in Palaeolithic times there existed a belief in the survival of the spirit after death, and a fear of its return (hence the